

Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04
H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
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FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5377
INFO AMCONSUL CAPETOWN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USUN NEW YORK 1232

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CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PFOR PINT RH ZA
SUBJ: A MUZOREWA FOLLOWER'S VIEW OF CURRENT RHODESIAN SITUATION

SUMMARY: ENOCH DUMBUTSHENA, LUSAKA-BASED LEGAL ADVISER TO BISHOP MUZOREWA, APRIL 6 OUTLINED THE BASIC DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SMITH AND MUZOREWA CONCEPTS OF A REFERENDUM; OFFERED HIS PERSONAL EVALUATION OF THE PRINCIPAL RHODESIAN NATIONALIST LEADERS; COMMENTED ON THE ROLE OF THE FRONTLINE STATES, THE GRZ'S CURRENT ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE UNAC AND EXPRESSED HIS BELIEF THAT MAJORITY RULE, NO MATTER HOW ACHIEVED, WOULD BRING AN END TO THE FIGHTING. END SUMMARY.

1. IN A DISCUSSION WITH VISITING COUNTRY OFFICER FOR RHODESIA,
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DAVIDOW, AND EMBOFFS MORNING APRIL 5, DUMBUTSHENA OUTLINED HIS VIEWS OF THE CURRENT SITUATION IN RHODESIA. DUMBUTSHENA OPENED BY POINTING OUT THAT THE CRITICAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SMITH AND MUZOREWA PROPOSALS FOR A REFERENDUM IS THAT THE BISHOP WANTS AN ELECTION AMONG ALL RHODESIANS, NOT JUST AFRICANS AS PROPOSED BY SMITH. MUZOREWA'S CONCEPT OF A REFERENDUM IS ONE DESIGNED TO CHOOSE THE LEADER OF AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE.

SMITH WANTS A REFERENDUM TO SELECT THE PERSON WITH WHOM HE WOULD DISCUSS TRANSFER OF POWER TO THE MAJORITY. DUMBUTSHENA SAID BISHOP MUZOREWA HAS THE LARGEST POLITICAL FOLLOWING OF ANY NATIONALIST LEADER WITHIN RHODESIA AND CLAIMED THAT EVEN AMONG THOSE OUTSIDE OF RHODESIA THERE WAS APPRECIABLE SUPPORT FOR THE BISHOP, PARTICULARLY WITHIN THE RANKS OF ZANU. ADDITIONAL MUZOREWA STENGTH LIES IN THE FACT THAT HE, UNLIKE OTHER NATIONALIST LEADERS, HAS BEEN ABLE TO WIN THE YOUTH OF ZAMBABWE TO HIS SIDE. THERE IS ALSO SUPPORT FOR MUZOREWA WITHIN THE RANKS OF THE COMMISSIONED BLACK AFRICANS SERVING IN THE RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES. HE CLAIMED THAT THESE COMMISSIONED OFFICERS HAD ASKED PERMISSION TO FORM A UANC POLITICAL CELL WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES AND HAD BEEN DENIED. ALSO OF GREAT IMPORTANCE, ACCORDING TO DUMBUTSHENA, IS THE SUPPORT THE BISHOP HAS ACROSS THE BOARD AMONG CHURCHES OF ALL PERSUASIONS WITHIN RHODESIA. AS A DEMONSTRATION OF MUZOREWA'S STRENGTH AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION WITHIN RHODESIA, HE CITED THE RECENT CONSULTATIVE CONGRESS OF THE UANC WHICH WAS ATTENDED BY 5000 REPS. THE 5,000 REPS WERE MADE UP OF GROUPS OF SEVEN FROM ALL LOCALITIES IN RHODESIA. A SOURCE OF ADDITIONAL STRENGTH HAS BEEN THE SHIFT OF THE BLACK AND WHITE BUSINESSMEN AWAY FROM NKOMO TO THE BISHOP. THE RHODESIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE HAS RECENTLY OFFERED UANC HIGHLY DESIRABLE OFFICE SPACE REFT-FREE IN DOWNTOWN SALISBURY.

2. COMMENTING ON THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN SITHOLE AND THE BISHOP, THE LAWYER SAID THAT SITHOLE WAS TOO POWER HUNGRY TO CAST HIS LOT WITH THE BISHOP. HOWEVER HE LEFT OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF SOME ARRANGEMENT IN THE DISTANT FUTURE. HE COMMENTED THAT MUGABE WAS WEAKENED BY THE FACT THAT HE REALLY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WAS NOT RECOGNIZED BY ALL OF ZANU AS ITS PRESIDENT AND DID NOT HAVE MUCH POPULAR FOLLOWING WITHIN RHODESIA. HOWEVER, HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT A PLACE SHOULD BE FOUND FOR MUGABE IN A MAJORITY RULE GOVT. HE EXPRESSED DISTASTE FOR NKOMO AND MAINTAINED THAT NKOMO IS NOT THE POPULAR FIGURE WITH THE LARGE FOLLOWING HE PRETENDS TO BE.

3. SPEAKING TO THE POSSIBILITY OF CIVIL WAR IN ZIMBABWE, DUMBUTSHENA SAID HE BELIEVED THE ARMED FORCE BEING BUILT UP BY ZAPU WAS THE GREATEST THREAT IN THIS REGARD. SHOULD THE BISHOP COME TO POWER HE WAS CONVINCED THAT SIGNIFICANT ELEMENTS OF THE ZANU FIGHTING FORCE WOULD RALLY TO A MUZOREWA GOVT. HOWEVER IF NKOMO WERE OUT OF THE PICTURE HE WOULD USE FORCE IN AN ATTEMPT TO GAIN CONTROL. DUMBUTSHENA SAID NYZRERE IS WILLING TO ACCEPT THE BISHOP'S SUPPORTERS AND EXTEND TRAINING FACILITIES TO THEM. HOWEVER, DUMBUTSHENA WAS NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT MILITARY TRAINING FOR THE BISHOP'S FOLLOWERS. HE SEEMED MORE INTERESTED BY THE POSSIBILITY THAT UANC SUPPORTERS NOW HAVE A PLACE TO GO AND COULD BE TRANSFERRED OUT OF THE UNSYMPATHETIC

IF NOT ANTAGONISTIC ATMOSPHERE WHICH PREVAILS IN MOZAMBIQUE AND ZAMBIA. DUMBUTSHENA DOWNPLAYED THE IMPORTANCE OF TRIBALISM IN POLITICS WITHIN RHODESIA. HE MAINTAINED THERE IS NO POTENT TRIBAL FACTIONALISM WITHIN RHODESIA. TRIBALISM AS A FACTOR HAS ORIGINATED WITH THE EXTERNAL FACTIONS OF THE NATIONALISTS. THOSE IN EXILE HAVE BEEN EXPOSED TO THE EXPERIENCE OF OTHER INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES, ALL OF WHOSE POLITICS ARE DOMINATED BY TRIBALISM.

4. ZAMBIA IS HOSTILE TO THE BISHOP. CURRENTLY THERE ARE 15-30 UANC ACTIVISTS HELD IN PRISON IN ZAMBIA UNDER DETENTION ORDERS. THERE IS SOME POSSIBILITY OF OBTAINING WRITS OF HABEAS CORPUS FOR THEM IF THEIR PLEAS CAN BE HEARD BEFORE THE RIGHT JUDGE. HOWEVER, DUMBUTSHENA WAS NOT OPTIMISTIC THAT LEGALITIES WOULD APPLY IN THE CASE OF MUZOREWA FOLLOWERS. HE ALLUDED TO THE FATE OF ANDREAS SHIPANGA WHO WON HIS LEGAL POINT BUT REMAINS IN DETENTION OUTSIDE OF ZAMBIA WITH THE ACQUIESCENCE OF THE GRZ. LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DUMBUTSHENA NOTED THAT THE GRZ HAS TAKEN THE HOUSE ALLOTTED TO

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THE BISHOP IN LUSAKA AWAY FROM HIM AND WILL NOT COUNTENANCE AN ACTIVE UANC PROGRAM IN ZAMBIA.

5. DUMBUTSHENA DISAPPROVED OF THE ROLE OF THE FRONTLINE STATES, STATING THAT MACHEL WAS WITH ZANU (MUGABE), KAUNDA WITH ZAPU, AND BOTSWANA DID NOT COUNT. HE WAS THE LEAST CRITICAL OF NYERERE'S AMBIVALENT POSITION TOWARDS THE LIBERATION FACTIONS. IN HIS JUDGMENT THE INFLUENCE OF THE FRONTLINE STATES ENDED AT THEIR BORDERS WITH RHODESIA; THEY HAD NO INFLUENCE AT ALL WITHIN RHODESIA. HE CONSIDERED FRONTLINE "MEDDLING" UNHELPFUL AND DESCRIBED THE US POSITION THAT THERE SHOULD BE AN AFRICAN SOLUTION TO THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM AS NAIVE. THE OAU AND THE FRONTLINE STATES ALL HAVE DIFFERENT INTERESTS IN A RHODESIAN SOLUTION AND THEY ARE NOT NECESSARILY THOSE OF THE ZIMBABWEANS. HE DID NOT SUPPORT AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AS THE ONLY ROAD TO MAJORITY RULE. MAJORITY RULE WAS THE GOAL AND THE MEANS OF IT
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ACHIEVING IT IS NOT IMPORTANT. WHEN ASKED, HE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT CANNOT SURVIVE ANOTHER ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS WHICH FAIL. IF THIS HAPPENS, THE RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM WILL BE BY VIOLENCE AND SUCH A SOLUTION WOULD BE DISASTROUS FOR RHODESIA. HE SAID THERE HAS BEEN LITTLE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE NATIONALIST FACTIONS. HOWEVER, THE LONGER MAJORITY RULE IS DELAYED THE STRONGER WILL BE THE IDENTIFICATION OF CERTAIN FACTIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER MARXIST STATES. HE BELIEVES THE PF IS NOW SO BEHOLDEN FOR SOVIET AND EASTERN SUPPORT THAT SHOULD IT COME TO POWER, IT WILL PURSUE THE PATH OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM.

6. COMMENT: DUMBUTSHENA SERVED AS ONE OF MUZOREWA'S LEGAL ADVISERS IN GENEVA; HE PRACTICES LAW IN LUSAKA AND TEACHES AT ZAMBIA UNIVERSITY. HE IS NOT AN ACTIVIST IN UANC BUT HIS TIES TO MUZOREWA ARE CLOSE. DUMBUTSHENA COMES THROUGH AS A THOUGHTFUL, UNEMOTIONAL DEFENDER OF THE MUZOREWA LINE AND HIS ANALYSIS SHOULD BE VIEWED IN THAT LIGHT. WE FOUND HIS COMMENTS ABOUT SUPPORT FOR MUZOREWA WITHIN THE RANKS OF THE COMMISSIONED BLACK OFFICERS (WE ASSUME THEY ARE FEW) OF THE RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES OF SPECIAL INTEREST. HIS STATEMENT THAT THE RHODESIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IS SHIFTING SUPPORT FOR NKOMO TO MUZOREWA IS CONFIRMATION OF PREVIOUS REPORTS TO THIS EFFECT. CLEARLY DUMBUTSHENA SEES ZAPU AS THE GREATEST DANGER TO BISHOP MUZOREWA IF A SOLUTION TO THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM RESULTS IN MUZOREWA COMING OUT ON TOP. AS HE SEES IT, ZANU FIGHTING FORCES CAN BE PERSUADED TO RALLY AROUND MUZOREWA ONCE HE IS IN POWER. NKOMO AND HIS FOLLOWERS WILL REFUSE TO DO SO AND NKOMO IS PREPARING

FOR THAT DAY BY BUILDING UP HIS ARMY TO CHALLENGE MUZOREWA.

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Message Attributes

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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
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Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
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